

THE
M E R I T S
OF THE
New Administration

TRULY STATED;

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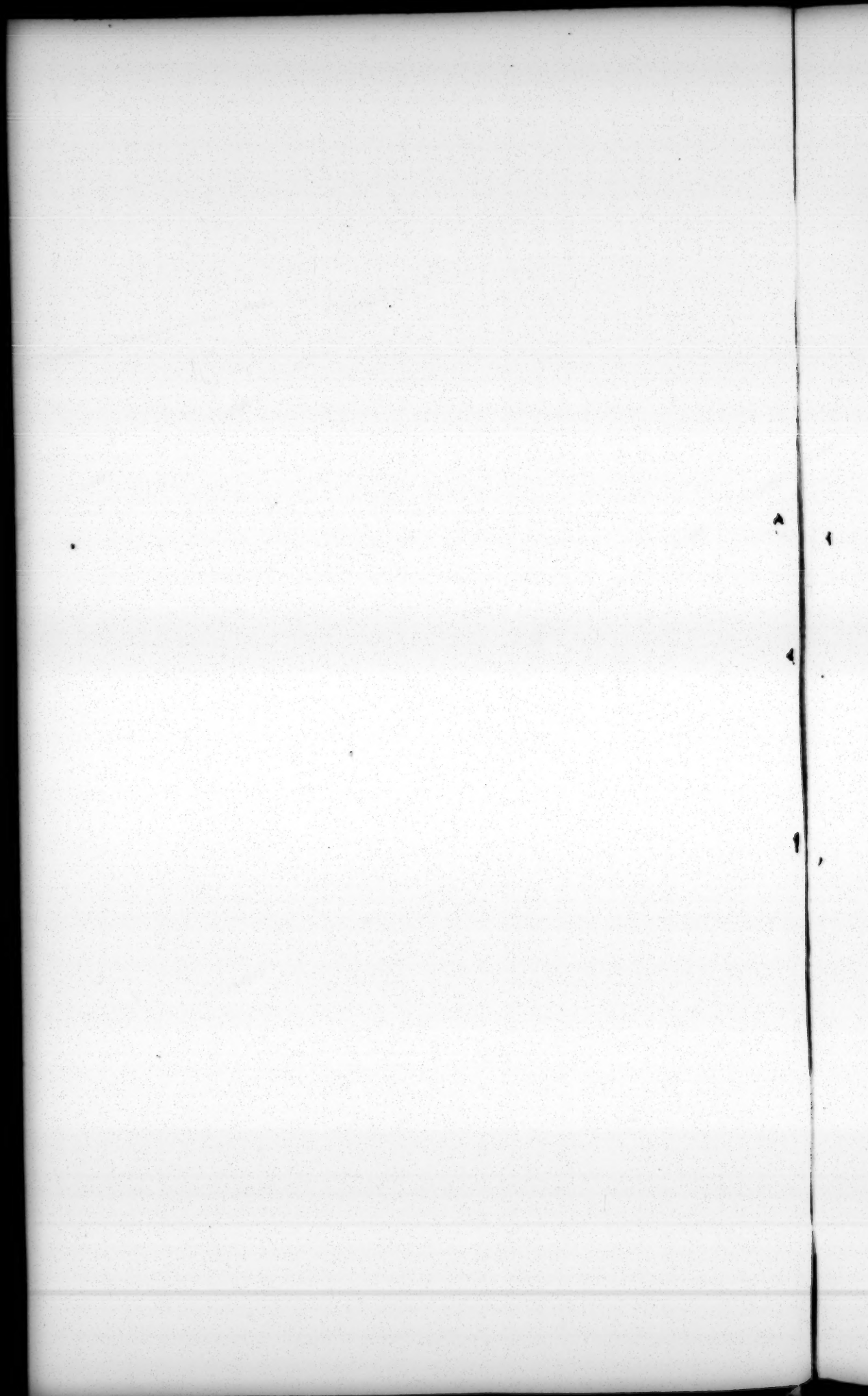
Answer to the several PAMPHLETS
and PAPERS published
against them.

THE SECOND EDITION.



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THE
MERITS
OF THE
New Administration, &c.



WHEN the late Change in the
Administration took place, it
was reasonably expected, that a
general Tranquillity would ensue. The
public had no Idea of a Change for the
worse, and His Majesty granted all, that
his discontented Subjects could wish, in
offering the Helm, unconditionally, as
we are told, to Mr. PITT, and inviting
his present Ministers to accept it, upon that
Gentleman's having declined. They had
opposed the Favourite with Spirit and Per-
severance, and the late Ministers, as Men,
who had acted under him, and who con-
B tinued

tinued to pursue his Scheme of Government, and probably his Directions, after his Retirement from Office ; and they stood recommended to the Nation, by their Independency, their unblemished Characters, and their distinguished Zeal for Liberty.

Accordingly all disinterested Men flattered themselves with the Hopes of seeing the good Humour of the Nation restored. The King had taken a Step, which intitled him more than ever to the Confidence of his People, in committing the Administration to the Hands of Persons, who, if their Offices had been elective, would, upon Mr. PITT's Declension, have been chosen by the independent part of the Nation.

But the Clamour of the Few, who were disappointed on the Occasion, proved, as it commonly does, much too loud for the Voice of Public Gratitude to be heard; and all, that well disposed Men could say, in celebrating the Goodness of their King, has been borne down, by the hoarser sound, of repeated Invectives against the Characters, who compose the Administration.

If

If Government itself were an Oppression, invented by the present Ministers, and if their Temper and Character were known to be particularly adapted to the worst Acts of Oppression, it would have been difficult to form a more virulent Attack upon them from the Press, than is contained in the Pamphlets and Papers of several Months past. Without the Pretence of a Grievance, without the Plea of any thing suspicious, in their Principles, Family, Circumstances or Connexions, they have been inveighed against more bitterly, than the most oppressive Ministers of former Times.

It seems to have been a needless Work, to answer such Writers, as the best Answers could not be expected to silence Men, who are so perfectly indifferent to Facts and Reason, that they took up their Pens in the first Week of the present Administration, before any thing could be done by the Ministers, to merit either Censure or Praise. But, though it must be left to Time, to silence *them*, every honest Man should contribute his Part, towards preserving the

Minds of his Countrymen from the Pollution of so foul a Torrent, and towards delivering his Country from the Danger of a new Species of Government, which desperate Men, after having been deprived of other Power, are labouring to introduce; a Government, not by King, Lords and Commons, nor by one of the three separately, but by a daily News-Paper.

It would not be an unfair Defence, to place before these Gentlemen the Shield, with which they covered the Favourite and themselves, in the early part of their Administration. We all remember the Diligence, with which old Law Books were rummaged, and every Fragment of a Report was searched, for Prerogative Language, to impeach the Loyalty of Men, who differed from them, and to prove, what was never denied, the King's constitutional Power, of dismissing one Set of Ministers, and appointing another.

Their Cause required every Support of that Kind; and, as they are very little remarkable for Consistency, it might be expected,

pected, that they would desert this Sort of Argument, when out of Power. But it would have been rather more conformable to the usual Mode of Inconsistency, to have departed from their own Doctrine gradually, instead of attempting to inflame the Nation against this constitutional Act of the Crown, in the Case of other Men, before any measure of Government had given the least Colour to Clamour and Invektive.

The present Ministers have not once alledged this Plea in their own Defence, being either conscious, that the Appointment of them acquired no Apology, or sensible of what they professed heretofore, that good Character and Conduct will be the best Recommendation of them to their Fellow-Subjects. Yet they had a better Right to shelter themselves under the Power of the Crown, than their Predecessors, as that Power has been exercised in their Favour, merely in consequence of their public Credit and Character. I mention this, without the least Disposition to flatter them, and need not make Excuses for being their Advocate, since every Man
has

has a better Right to amuse his Leisure, in stating their real Merits, with a View to Public Peace, than any Man has, to defame them, with a View to public Confusion.

The pretended Charges against them, contained in the several Papers and Pamphlets, are few in Number, with the Disadvantage of appearing some of them *false*, and some *ridiculous*. I state them fairly, in affirming, that they amount to no more than this; that the new Ministers are under the *Influence* of the *Favourite*, which appears to be *false*; that they are recommended to the Crown by the D— of C——, which does them Honour; that they are *disavowed* by Mr. PITT, which has not yet been *proved*; that they are *young*, which is *partly true*, and not *pertinent*; and that their Administration will not be *lasting*, which is more than either they can deny, or their Enemies affirm, with *Certainty*. This Mixture of Falshood, Encomium, Presumption and Conjecture, is repeated and diversified every Day, in order to make the Impression, which a plain and interesting

Truth

Truth would have made upon the Understandings of Men, without Repetition or Ornament. I shall consider each of these Charges, but must premise, that the only one, which, in my humble Opinion, deserves Consideration, is that of the Favourite's Influence, upon which the greatest Stress has been laid, as being the most popular.

They are said to be the Creatures and Instruments of that noble Lord, not by any Operation of his, unknown to them, but by a formal Compact with him. One of the Writers declares, that he has *no doubt*, that the *Favourite has stipulated a secret Article with the new Ministers, for the Preservation of his Power.*

As no *Fact* is produced, to account for this Freedom from all doubt on the Subject, we must suppose the Writer's Opinion, if he really entertains it, to be founded in *Appearances*. These Appearances must be either *personal Conferences* between the present Ministers and that noble Lord, or a *Correspondence* between them, neither of which,

which, I am persuaded, has ever occurred to the Knowledge of those Writers, or of any other Person ; or there must be something in the *Characters* and *Circumstances* of the Ministers, in their *former* and *present* Conduct, to authorise the Charge ; or it must follow from a *Similiarity* of their *Characters* and *Circumstances* with those of the *late* Ministers.

If there be not the least Appearance of Dealings with him, in any of these Respects, then the Charge is *groundless*, and, being meant to discredit them with the People, it becomes *malicious*.

When they were called into the Service of the State, their first Concern was, to undertake it *exclusively* of him, and there is Reason to think they had higher Assurances than his, that he would not, in any degree, interfere with the Business of Government. They could not affirm this, unless it were true, since their Desire, to guard against all Suspicion of Intercourse with him, implies a Reproach to that noble Person, which could not be covenanted between
them ;

them ; and if Men of Honour and Veracity deserve any Credit in a Matter, which they know better, than the rest of the World ; the present Ministers have indisputably a better Right to be believed in this Case, than Persons, especially unknown, who affirm the contrary, without Authority.

But if the Fact were not so established, their *Characters* would clear them from the random Charge of so gross an Inconsistency. I know, how their Characters have been treated of late ; but I also remember, what was the public Opinion of them, before they accepted their Offices ; and their Characters are as pure and unexceptionable now, as they were then ; and, to the best of my Knowledge, as any Characters public or private in the Kingdom. They were never remarkably attentive to their own Interest, and they were considered by the Public, as upright and consistent Men. It requires some Ignorance of the Value of good Character, as well as much Credulity and Prejudice against them, to be persuaded, that they would abruptly plunge into Odium and Contempt, by descending to be the C
tures ;

tures and Instruments of One, whose Power they had manfully resisted at a Time, when it was of more Consequence than now, to defy his Resentment.

What is there in their *Circumstances*, to render the Emoluments of Office so alluring to them, as to induce them to accept upon dishonourable Terms? No Vanity could be gratified by it, since their former Independency was certainly more reputable, than a Subordination to him; and Avarice is a Passion, which has not yet been laid to their Charge. Their great hereditary Fortunes as well as Rank, and the full Vigour of their Abilities, gave them undeniable Pretensions to the public Service, whenever it was the King's Pleasure to call them forth; and the State of Things, at the Time of the late Change, was such, as rendered it very practicable for them, to accept his Majesty's Offer, without departing in any respect from their Dignity or their former Professions. It is not natural for Men, so circumstanced, to undervalue the Advantages they possess, and descend to a Collusion, of which no Man is capable, unless

unless instigated by *impotent* Ambition, or *urgent Necessity*.

Examine their *former* and *present* Conduct, and try what Ground there is, for supposing any past or present Connexion between them and the Favourite.

They disapproved his Administration, as soon as it was erected, and protested loudly against it, when it broke out into Acts of Precipitation and Violence. The Spirit of their Opposition supplied the Defect of Numbers within doors, and was seconded by the disinterested Spirit of the Nation without. They hazarded the Favour of a Prince, whom they could not fail to love and revere; they gave up their Offices, and suffered their Dependents to be turned adrift, rather than subscribe their Names to a System, which had, in a short Time, the Effect they apprehended, of endangering the public Peace.

Their Opposition was the more adverse to him, as it proceeded from *Principle*. He could offer no Motives or Temptations

strong enough to reconcile them, and it was impossible for him, circumstanced as he was, by any Promise he could make for his public Conduct, to remove their radical Objection to him, as a Minister. Indeed nothing of that kind ever passed between him and them. They do not with all their Objections to him, charge him, as his new Enemies do, with having ever *broken a Treaty* with them, with having ever made them a *Promise* of any kind, or having been *considerably indebted to them*. They were, from the Beginning, his open declared Enemies. They opposed him as a Favourite, leaning solely upon the Power of the Crown; and, by that Situation of his, tempted to establish himself at the Expence of public Liberty. And they opposed the late Ministers, as Men, who having acted avowedly under him, might be fairly supposed to be still his Agents; and who, by the Obstinacy, with which they strained the Power of the Crown, against both the Spirit and Letter of the Law, soon rendered themselves as obnoxious to a FREE People, as his Situation had rendered him.

This

This was the Conduct of the new Ministers, before they came into Office. Have they departed from it since? Have they manifested, by any known Measure of theirs, the least Disposition to soften the Resentment, which the noble Lord may, without any Impeachment of his Character, be supposed to entertain against them? Have they not dismissed Men from Office, who owed their Advancement to him? And have they not restored Men, who were dismissed in his Time? The latter could not be done, without an implied Censure of his Conduct; nor the former, without an implied Defiance of him.

They removed the principal Hands in Offices of Business, that they might conduct the public Service by their own Instruments, instead of his. How far they will proceed in the rest of their Arrangements, does not yet appear. If they should consult the *public Service* rather, than Partialities of their own, or than a Motive so ill suited to their Characters, as a mere vindictive Spirit, distinct from all Considera-

derations of general Good, every Man, who does not envy them the Merit of such a Conduct, will applaud it. Wherever they stop, they have proceeded far enough already, to secure themselves against all Suspicion of Intrigue with the Favourite, and have encouraged the Public to expect, that they will be as far from adopting his Measures, as they are from patronising his Men, merely as such.

They were barely established, before His Majesty rewarded the inflexible Integrity of a great Ornament of the Law. Whether this proceeded immediately from his own Royal Breast, or from the Advice of his Ministers, it was certainly dated in the present Administration. The Merit of that Patron of Liberty was conspicuous in the Time of the late Ministers, for he had the Honour of offending them to a great Degree, and, if I mistake not, of provoking them to some public Invectives against him. Was the Honour, conferred upon him by the Crown, a secret Article stipulated with the Favourite? I have no Authority to affirm, and am well assured,
His

His Majesty will never be addressed to declare, by whose Advice this was done; but I have a Right to consider it as a Pledge to the Public, of the good Disposition of the Men, in whose Administration so proper a Measure took place.

Is the noble Favourite so particularly happy in his Temper of Mind, as to be insensible to this Series of Hostilities? Is he so consummate a Politician, as to have subdued the most natural Resentments, and to load with Honours and Power, for a very remote Purpose, the Men, who have given him all possible Proofs of a consistent insuperable Dislike to him, a Dislike, not founded in his *personal*, but in his *public* Character. It is the greatest Offence a Minister can receive in this Country, to have his Affection for Liberty suspected. That Offence has been given to him so plentifully, and so effectually, that we must suppose him a Saint or a Stoic, if he could bend his Temper to Acts of great Kindness and Goodwill towards these his original Enemies.

Other

Other Men, who had not the Courage or Inclination to offend him, till their Case either with their Royal Master, or with him, became desperate, may be led, by their own Ideas and Ways of acting, to impute the late Change to Negotiation and Intrigue with him. Yet I am persuaded, even they are not unacquainted with the Truth which it answers a temporary Purpose to deny; and the Publications, which have sprung from themselves or their Friends, would incline a Bystander to suspect them capable, of imposing more, than their own *real* Opinion, upon the Credulity of the Public.

Since then all that we know, of the *Characters* and *Conduct* of the present Ministers, flatly contradicts the Pretence of their being the Creatures and Instruments of the Favourite, the *Comparison* of them with their *Predecessors* is the only remaining Ground, upon which such a Pretence should be founded, in order to merit Attention or Credit. But neither will this answer the Purpose.

I shall

I shall not dwell upon a Comparison of the *Characters*, that being needless and disagreeable. The Public knows the Characters on both Sides, and I need not point out; which would suffer by the Comparison. But their Condition and Conduct may be compared, without entering into mere Personalities.

Who has *supported* the Favourite, and who has *opposed* him, ever since the Contest with him began? I might safely leave the Question unanswered. When he first erected his Standard, the late Ministers resorted to it; the present fled from it. When that Standard became triumphant, Mr. G—— was the voluntary Standard-Bearer. He accepted of different Offices, at a Time, when the Favourite was predominant, and doubtless made him the same Returns, without Doors, which every Man in Parliament can witness he made within, when he broke loose from his Family and Friends, to support the Favourite's System.

D

He

He was not so active in applauding the Peace, as in defending the other Measures of that Time; but he did what was equivalent to it, in point of Public Character, when he exchange'd a Situation, which would have obliged him officially to support that Measure, for one, which obliged him only to give it the Sanction of his vote. And to make full Reparation for this Excess of Delicacy, he took every subsequent Occasion, of drawing a Veil over the Glories of this Nation, by the repeated and needless Mention of the *unfortunate* Expences of the War; Expences, which he himself had voted and concurred in, even with respect to that part of the War, which was not the primary Object of the British Nation.

When he was placed at the Head of the Treasury, he being then upon good Terms with the Favourite, was most probably recommended by him, especially, as there was at that Time no other qualified Person, who would accept the Office upon that Recommendation. He could propose no *public*
Con-

Conditions in accepting it, having before concurred in all that noble Lord's Measures, and having, if we may judge from the whole of his Conduct, undertaken a Continuation of them. If he made private Terms, for his own Family, or his remaining Friends, the Public cannot well regard them as Marks of his Independency, after the Zeal, with which he supported general Warrants, a new Extension of Excise Laws, and other obnoxious Measures, which either took their Rise in the Administration of the Favourite, or were occasioned by it.

This Gentleman is particularly mentioned here, because he seems in the Papers and Pamphlets to be the Hero of the dismissed Party. At present he and his late Colleagues disavow all Connexion with the Person, to whom they have been obliged, and under whom they have served. It is not my Concern, to step in between the two Parties, and it seems an Happiness to the Public, that they are separated at last, since both were become the Objects of public Jealousy and Dislike. But I must suspect the Truth

of the Account delivered out, that the Dismission of the noble Lord's Brother occasioned the Disgrace of the late Ministers, since that Measure appears to have been the *Effect*, not the *Cause* of the Rupture; and they would do well to consider a little, before they claim any *Merit* from it. Had it been done upon *public* Motives, it would have been done much *earlier*. The *Time* and *Circumstances* of it prove only, that they were just then vindictive, and ambitious to set up for themselves, when they could no longer depend upon him.

I am far from wishing to reduce them, in the public Estimation, below the Standard of Truth; and the present Ministers need not the Aid of those Characters, to set off their own. But it became necessary to state the Case of the two Administrations, with respect to the Favourite, in order to shew, how unfair it is to conclude, that the present are the Creatures and Instruments of that noble Person, because the late were so. The late Ministers had been obliged to him, and acted under him; the present never had a Connexion of any Kind with him,
always

always opposed him, and, since their Entrance into Office, have acted like Men, not only *independent* of him, but *adverse* to him.

He is alive, it is true, and has a Right, till he is legally deprived of it, to appear at Court and in the Senate. Let his late Coadjutors drive him from both, if they can, for they are best qualified, from their intimate Knowledge of his Measures, to impeach him; and they need not doubt, that a fair and regular Prosecution will be supported. This would be a more manly Conduct, than exciting groundless Jealousies and Discontents among the People, with a View to interrupt other Men in the Service of the State, which they themselves can no longer serve. They must in the end grow weary, if not ashamed, of so fruitless, as well as illiberal, an Employment of their Time. The Public will not be persuaded, to think *their* Case an Argument sufficient, to prove the present Ministers under the Influence of the Favourite. The late Ministers were capable of a *voluntary Submission* to him, when he was at the Head of Affairs;
the

the present stand clear even of the Suspicion of this. In the Case of the former therefore, we should have had Reason to suspect his private Influence, after his Retirement, even if no other Appearances had justified the Suspicion. In the Case of the latter, there is nothing more to give it an Air of Possibility, than barely his Existence.

But the Writers themselves seem sensible of the Weakness of this Charge, and, being determined at all Events to say something of the present Ministers, which they hope will discredit them, they now and then change their Ground, and attack them, as the Creatures of a greater Person.

In order to give this Representation of them an unpopular Appearance, they treat the Character of that Illustrious Person, in a Manner somewhat extraordinary from Men well affected to his Family. One Writer calls him, with a nonsensical Indecency, *a military Hand, without Temper or Knowledge of the Constitution*; and another is more gross in his Description of him, and even appears to exult, with an Inhumanity,

humanity, sufficient to disgrace any Party, upon the late Uncertainty of his valuable Life.

Every Englishman knows the invulnerable Character of that Hero too well, to expect a Vindication of him; but it may astonish those, who have observed former Connexions, to see him so virulently attacked from that Quarter. It is accountable only from an Observation, reproachful to human Nature, that the Rage of a disappointed Mind is sometimes too violent, to be softened by the Feelings of Gratitude.

All their late Hopes were defeated by his Interposition. They had incurred the Displeasure of the K—, and knew very well, that those Friends of their Royal Master and of the Public, who were in Opposition to them, would not treat, upon any Terms, with the Favourite; and apparently they did not foresee the Possibility of their own Dismission by other Means, after Mr. PITT had declined. In this State of Things, they acted like Men perfectly secure, and flattered themselves probably,

bably, with the Hopes of an uninterrupted Aristocratical Power, over the Crown as well as their Fellow-Subjects.

In this Extremity, we are told, His Majesty consulted the Person, in whom both he and the Nation could best confide, his Royal Uncle, who had defended the Throne by his personal Courage and Conduct heretofore, and could have no Motive, either of Ambition or Interest, in the present Case, to give any other than the best and wisest Counsel; and the Counsel he gave produced the Change.

He was never suspected of any kind Disposition to the Favourite. Some of the Writers even acquit him of that, by intimating, that He has received mortifying Injuries from him. He has no personal Object of his own, and cannot be suspected of a Wish, inconsistent with the lasting Prosperity of his Illustrious House. The Persons he is supposed to have recommended, had every Qualification of Understanding, Rank, Fortune, Principle and Character, and enjoyed at the same time the general Esteem of their Country.

No

No Administration was ever appointed, with more Circumstances to justify the Appointment, and to create a general Confidence in Government. In this view therefore the Conduct of that Royal Person was highly meritorious, and intitled him to the Gratitude of the Nation no less, than of the Ministers, who derived lasting Honour from it. Their enemies are too sensible of this, to pass by so signal a Merit, without some Aspersions. They represent HIM also, as the Instrument of the Favourite, at the Motion of a Greater Person, and dress up this far fetched Surmise, in the Form of a mathematical Piece of Buffoonery. Facts and Appearances are set aside, to convert a weak Presumption into an Argument, by giving it the Support of a strong Improbability.

But this new Species of Reasoning, upon which they appear to value themselves, is suspended for a Moment, to give place to another Argument of their own Invention. They represent the present System, as only an Exchange of One Favourite for Many.

E

If

If Favourites of the Crown were meant, the Subject, having less to apprehend from *many* Favourites, than from *One*, would rejoice to see the Royal Favour distributed. But they explain their Meaning, by an unintelligible Expression, when they call it *accumulating Favouritism*, which Words needing a farther Explanation, they intimate, that this Royal Person interposed, for the sake of aggrandizing his own Favourites.

Whatever his Partiality may be towards Persons, who have persevered invariably, in their Attachment to him, they are not formidably numerous, nor have we yet heard of their Introduction into Offices of Business. But if this had been the Case, there is a Fallacy in the Argument, which cannot easily mislead an intelligent Reader. The Favourites of a Subject are supposed to be as dangerous to Liberty, as the Favourites of a Prince, which if History had not long since contradicted, would have appeared ridiculous to common Sense, upon a Comparison of the Power of a Prince with that of a Subject, in the most limited Mo-

Monarchy. It is indeed such a Confusion of Ideas, as seems calculated to deprive the Word Favourite of its received Signification; a Confusion natural enough to the Men, who may have been accustomed, with such Sophistry, to plead the Cause of *the* Favourite.

In order to strengthen these Charges against the Ministry, which must have appeared to the Persons, who deliver them out, as too feeble for a lasting Impression, they have recourse to a more popular Charge, but still more unbecoming and inconsistent in them, than all they have alleged about the pretended Influence of that noble Lord. They adopt the Favourite of the People; the Man whom Six Months ago they described as terrible to this Nation, under the Idea of a *popular Orator*, supported by a *democratical Magistrate*; and whom at that time, I verily believe, they would have dreaded to see, either at Court, or in Parliament, or any where but on the Bed of Sickness, where it has, for some Years past, been their peculiar good Fortune to have him confined.

Here however they have the Advantage of a Fact, and they make the most of it. The great Commoner has not accepted the Reins, for which he is so eminently qualified. They insinuate two Inferences from this, neither of which they have a Right to draw, both being unsupported by Fact. They would persuade the World, that he has set his Face against the Ministry, and that they have precipitately grasped at Power, in Exclusion of him; and the only Appearance, upon which these Insinuations are delivered out, is, his not having accepted an Office.

I affirm, in answer to this, upon very good Authority, that he was consulted before any Change took place; that he was even importuned to come to the Helm; that the present Ministers wished to see him there; that the Reasons, upon which he declined, were perfectly consistent with a good Opinion of them; and that he expressed, at the Time, no Dislike of them. I am doubtful, whether I might not venture to say farther, that he expressed an
 Approbation

Approbation of them, and wished them Success; but my Veneration for his great Character inclines me to lay no Stress upon this, lest it should appear to be only a sanguine Interpretation of his Words. It is sufficient for the Vindication of the present Ministers, that his Conduct in that Transaction implies no Censure of them, and threatens no personal Opposition to them from him.

They have declared it to be their Ambition to act upon his Plan, and to preserve their Country in that state of Eminence above all other Nations, in which he has placed it. They have declared themselves ready to give way to him, whenever he thinks fit to accept His Majesty's Offer of the Helm. As he knew this Disposition of theirs to the Public and him, they stand clear of the Charge of his having declined for *public* Reasons, and can only lament, without condemning, the private Punctilio of Honour, which deprives the King and the State of so valuable a Servant.

If

If ever that Delicacy should be surmounted, it is highly improbable, that the late Ministers will be restored by him. They have no public Claim to partake in the Distinction paid to his Merit, and will hardly recommend themselves to his Affection and Esteem, by the temporary unauthorized Use they are making of his respectable Name. I must add in Justice to them, that they have not yet ventured to hint, his having disapproved of their Removal, or having ever honoured their Measures with a single Nod.

Of what then is the new Administration accused, with respect to Mr. PITT, if it does not appear, that he has ever declared against them, or that they have wished to exclude him? There is no other Foundation for any Charge, than his having declined an Office; which, whatever Interpretation it may bear, can admit of none to their Disadvantage, unless he himself had explained it so. And let the Public judge, which of the two Setts are the warmest Friends to their Country, the *late* Ministers, who, in the Height of their Power, were

were his declared Adversaries, and now peevishly triumph in the public Misfortune of his Retirement; or the *present* Ministers, who were attached to him, when out of Power, and now regret his having been induced by any Consideration, to decline engaging in the public Service? Had he accepted, we should have been troubled with very different Representations of him from the Men, who held their Power, exclusively of him, and would have been more enraged, if possible, than they are, to have seen so insurmountable a Bar to their Recovery of it, as his Appearance at the Helm.

It is barely worth while to mention, how ridiculously they value themselves upon the *Youth* of some of the Persons who succeed them. If Youth were the Season for those Passions, which interfere most with the faithful Discharge of a public Trust, and if an Age more advanced, than that of the present Ministers, were always accompanied with Integrity, public Spirit, and Vigour of Mind, there would be Weight in the Objection. But it is too trifling

trifling to be exploded, as a Charge against them, since the Persons, whose Youth is treated with so much affected Contempt, are not inferior to the late aged Ministers, in any desirable Qualification for Business.

They have also been ridiculed, and represented as unfit for their Stations, on account of an Amusement, which is perfectly consistent with the most able Head, and the most unblemished Character. But there is, it seems, some Appearance of Levity in it, which shocks the grave Heads and Hearts of their Predecessors. Can we wonder that Gentlemen so solid and pure in their Characters should become unpopular, and have been dismissed from Office, in an Age like the present? They seem to have been better qualified to enforce and practise the puritanical Rigours of the last Century, or to rest their virtuous Souls in the Apathy of an Utopian Government.

But seriously, I have no Suspicion, that the Gentlemen, who composed the late Administration, do really consider an Amusement

ment of that kind, as either immoral, or too light for a Minister of State. They doubtless had something to relieve their Minds, after the Fatigue of planning and defending their Measures. It is not my Affair, to enquire, how much more innocent their Recreations were? Their Successors are probably as little disposed to receive Instructions from them in Pleasures, as in Business. But I have a Right to consider such an Objection from such Hands, as amounting to an Acknowledgement of the unexceptionable Character of the new Ministers, against whom, Enemies instigated apparently by the bitterest Sense of Disappointment, have nothing more solid, or even more specious to alledge.

The Objections I have been hitherto considering are addressed to the Multitude: The only remaining Charge seems meant as an Address to the Representatives of the People; for the Multitude have no Concern in the Arguments alledged to prove the short Duration of this Ministry, unless it be the Intention of the Writers, to dis-

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suade

suade them from all Obedience to Government: Nor is this Charge addressed to the whole of the Representative Body. The disinterested part of them are apt to consider singly the Measure proposed, unless the Ministers, from whom it comes, be suspected of evil Designs against their Country, in which Case their Permanency becomes an Objection, instead of a Motive to Concurrence. The Caution before us is given to Men, who aim at some permanent Office, and were it addressed to them by Name, as a Motive to Action, in their parliamentary Capacity, it would do no more Honour to them, than it does to the Writers, who advance it.

The Permanency of an Administration depends so much upon the Pleasure of the Crown, that no Man can reason about it with Certainty. The presumptive Arguments are always in favour of a Ministry, who enjoy at once the Esteem of their Prince, and the Good-will of their Country. Yet we have been told with Warmth and Confidence, that it is impossible the
present

present System can last. In order to prove this, the Writers estimate in the true Spirit of Corruption, the Numbers, upon which the new Administration may depend. The late Opposition, which is in one Page accused of having been the Cause of Royal Miseries, is, in another, dwindled into an inconsiderable Number. The Power of the Crown, of which the late Ministers so abundantly availed themselves, against the Spirit of the Constitution, and the Sense of the Public, is now treated as too weak, to influence Men to do Justice to both. And the natural Power of an upright disinterested Conduct is not at all taken into the Account.

In answer to their Estimate, we all remember an honest Administration, unassisted by any Exertion of the Power of the Crown, yet more permanent, than that which expired this Summer. Mr. PITT had not the Distribution of Royal Favours. He could reward no Man for his Vote, and he would not have punished any Man for his Opposition. Yet he conducted the

Business of Parliament with unparalleled Success. The present Ministers pretend not to his Popularity; but they pretend to a much larger Share in the Good-will of the People, than ever fell to the Lot of their Predecessors. Nothing has hitherto been advanced against them, that could justly lower them in the public Estimation; and if we may judge of Men's future Conduct by their past and present Character, they will have all the Popularity necessary to recommend them to the Crown, for they have a fair Chance for carrying on the Business of Government, with the Approbation of all judicious, disinterested, and unprejudiced Men.

For what is it, that gives any Administration the Appearance of Permanency? Is it high Rank, and good Character? Is it a distinguished Zeal for Liberty and for the Family on the Throne? Is it the Royal Countenance? Is it Independency of Spirit, as well as Fortune? The present Ministers have all these Presumptions of Permanency. Their Abilities will appear in
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the Course of their Measures, and will, I trust, be too apparent to stand in need of those Puffs of a Day, which have for some Years past been the Disgrace of Government.

To obviate these Presumptions of their Permanency, their Enemies have once more recourse to the Name of the Favourite, of whom they seem determined to avail themselves on all Occasions, whether in Power or out. They state an Alternative, and exult in it as unanswerable. *Either the E— of B— privately engages to support this Administration with his Influence, or he takes no Part in it ;* in both which Cases, they conclude the Ruin of the Ministers to be impending.

In answer to this, as it is well known, that both he and they deny the former Part of the Alternative, the latter follows of course. But, if he takes no part in the Administration, they argue, that he will undermine and subvert it. There is a more obvious Conclusion, which seems to have
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escaped these Writers, only because it would not answer their Purpose ; that if he takes no part in the Administration, it will not in any respect be affected by him.

But how is the Fall they threaten to be brought to pass ? Is the personal Interest of that noble Lord in Parliament so very formidable ? Are the Instruments of Government in his Hands, to be employed against the established Ministers of Government ? And above all, is it decent in Men, who have been for some Years past notoriously obliged to their Sovereign, to suspect a Prince, whose Characteristic is Virtue and Honour, of so gross a Duplicity, as that of inviting Men into Office, with a view to assist another Person in undermining them ?

If the noble Favourite, after having abundantly experienced, how impossible it is for him to govern, should be an inactive Spectator of other Men's Measures, who can justly blame, either him for that part of his Conduct, or the Ministers, who have no Concern with him. If he should think
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fit to engage in Opposition, the late Ministers may possibly repair once more, as Volunteers to his Standard; and they will then be convinced of the Independency of the present, whilst they themselves give the Public a fresh, and not a marvellous, Instance of their own Inconsistency. But with what Effect he will carry on an Opposition in alliance with them, may be gathered from the Success, with which he and they jointly conducted an Administration, which was strengthened by every Nerve and Sinew of the Power of the Crown.

But supposing the Permanency of the Administration to be very uncertain, does it follow, that other Men should promote a Stagnation of public Business, because the Hands, which conduct it, may be changed? Or is a Change of Hands in Administration so extraordinary a Phenomenon in a free Country, that Men cannot safely hazard the necessary Support of Government, till they have infallible Assurances of the Stability of an Administration? The late Opposition were firmly of Opinion, that the then
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Ministry could not be lasting; yet they concurred in all the necessary Business of Government. If the present Ministers had openly threatened the Constitution, or had in any part of their Lives forfeited the Confidence of the Public, even then their *Characters* would be a more ostensible Reason for acting against them, than the Uncertainty of their Power; whereas here that Uncertainty is made a Plea for opposing Ministers of *irreproachable* Characters.

I would not compare an Assembly, representing a free People, to an Army, and I hope never to see them mustered and obedient to the Word of Command, especially on a constitutional Point; but I must confess, that to dissuade Men from the Service of their Country, by poultry Arguments against the Permanency of the Administration, appears to me somewhat like persuading an Army to desert on the Day of Battle, by representing the Possibility of an approaching Peace.

I have observed, ever since I have sat in Parliament, how eagerly the most interested Men

Men seize upon the Merit of giving their Approbation to a right Measure, which chances not to interfere with their private Views; and I cannot conceive even such Men so totally averse to an upright and disinterested Administration, as to be led into Opposition by a small Body of disappointed Men, whom they could not serve with Reputation, when in Power, and from whom they have not now even the Prospect of any other Reward.

For my own part, as an anonymous Writer has thought fit to publish his Reasons for declining to take any part in the New Administration, I have an equal Right to declare my Resolution, of giving my independent Vote, to such good Measures, as they shall propose; and, to borrow a Phrase or two from the late London Address, since a *happy Establishment of public Measures* will probably soon *present a favourable Occasion*, I shall be *ready, to exert my utmost Abilities, in Support of such wise Councils, as apparently tend to render his Majesty's Reign happy and glorious*; which Resolution, I

apprehend, needs not to be vindicated by a Detail of Reasons. I must add to this, as one strong Motive to my Conduct, that I am not singular in my Opinion, that it is high time to recover the CREDIT of GOVERNMENT.

It is ridiculous to hear Men complain, that Government has been dissolved, because three or four Officers of State have been removed. We have still, God be thanked, a KING and a PARLIAMENT. They are the Government. Ministers are no more, than the Servants of the Crown and Parliament, appointed by the King. Nor does a Change of Ministers, which these Writers so lamentably regret, produce any other Fluctuation of Affairs, than arises from a necessary Change of Measures, which has in the present Case been so generally and loudly wished, that the public Tranquillity in a great Degree depended upon it.

I protest, I should not have given the Public this Trouble, if the Charges against the present Ministers, which are of any Im-
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portance, had appeared to me to be *true*; and I confess it impossible, for an honest Man to vindicate their Conduct, whenever they depart from their public Characters. But it is a vain Expectation, that any *disinterested* Man will consider the Disappointments of a few of his Fellow Subjects as a *national* Cause, since it was really no more, than a common Exercise of the constitutional Power of the Crown, which cannot, in the present Case, in any degree affect the Rights and Liberties of the Subject.

It was not the Dismission of a PARTY, whose Principles established the Constitution; nor of Men, who had eminently patronised Liberty; or had been victorious over the Enemies of their Country; or had secured by Peace the Advantages gained in War. It was only such a Change of Hands in the great Offices, as may be accounted for, without the least Alarm to the Public, and is a Contingency, to which the Servants of the State, whose Offices are held during Pleasure, must in all Reigns be exposed. *Populus id curat scilicet!*

Nor is it surprising, that such an Event should produce much Rancour in the Minds of the Persons disgraced; but it seems unreasonable to vent so much of it against the Men, who did not displace their Predecessors, but were invited by their Sovereign, to fill the vacant Offices of State. If their Fall be as imminent as is pretended, where is the Use of all this Virulence against them? I am rather disposed to account for so extravagant a Rage, from the apparent Probability of their *Duration*.

Let angry and illiberal Minds expose themselves in Print. I trust, they will find it difficult to provoke an Attack upon the LIBERTY of the PRESS. They cannot provoke the present Ministers, either *unguardedly* to issue GENERAL WARRANTS, or *obstinately* to alarm every well affected Mind in the Kingdom, by sitting up whole Nights, to resist a Censure of that Method of supporting the Dignity of a FREE Government.

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Printed Invectives make a wider, but not a more lasting Impression, than those which are thrown out in Conversation. The lowest of the People are too much accustomed to that sort of Language, to be animated by it; and their Superiors will nauseate it, even when it conveys a *Truth*, and turn their Eyes with Contempt from a *Falshood*, which ventures abroad without the Disguise of decent Expression. No truly honest Man can be supposed to regulate either his Parliamentary or private Conduct, by such Productions.

It was by the means of *important* Truths, delivered with a *public Spirit*, which will not descend to personal Acrimony, that the Patriots of former Days transmitted the Crown to His Majesty, and to the Nation the Liberties they enjoy. With what Contempt would they look down upon the anti-ministerial Publications of this Summer. They would ask the great Men, in whose Service they are written, what is their Object? and finding it to be purely the Gratification

fication of private Resentment, they would turn their Backs upon such an Opposition; and advise the Ministers, to persevere in their Duty, regardless of Men, who mean nothing more, than to interrupt them in the Service of their King and Country; a poor unworthy Design, too mean to be avowed by them, but manifestly indicated by the Affiduity, with which they have laboured to raise a Clamour against unexceptionable Ministers, who have not yet taken one exceptionable Measure.

There is usually some Pretence of public Good to cover the Designs of the most malignant Parties; but these Gentlemen, I cannot call them a *Party*, for they have not yet erected a public Principle, which the Ministry contests; they, I say, pretend nothing more, than that they are better qualified to serve the State, than their Successors; and have nothing more to complain of, than that, in Defiance of the Opinion they entertain of themselves, they have been dismissed, and other Ministers appointed in their Room. I verily believe, the Public
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has no Feeling for Disappointments so intirely personal, and will not be brought to espouse the Cause of the late Ministers against their Successors; till after some Experience of the Measures of the latter, and a total Oblivion of those of the former.

I would not, for the sake of the Ministry, suggest these Discouragements to the ungentlemanlike Manner, in which they are attacked. They will in the end be Gainers by such Misrepresentation of them. But I could wish, for the Honour of the British Nation, to see Men of high Rank, who have filled public Stations, more magnanimous in their Resentments. I wish, to see foreign Powers possessed of an Opinion, that our Liberties are perfectly consistent with that Respect to Government, without which it is in vain to pretend to national Strength. And, since our excellent King has been graciously pleased, to consult the Wishes, as well as the Welfare of his People, in offering the Administration to their Favourite, and, upon his Declension, to the Persons, who stood next to that Gentleman
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in public Esteem, it is but common Justice to His Majesty, to wish him the full Enjoyment of Popularity and Peace. Measures of Government may be opposed, without Disrespect to the King; but, after a Change, which appeared so desirable to the Nation, before it took place, a Clamour against the Ministers of Government, who have not had time to make a wrong Use of their Power, may, without any Strain of Prerogative, be interpreted an Opposition not only to the KING, but to Government itself, and affords but a miserable Presage of the Candour, Decency and Public Spirit, with which their Measures will hereafter be opposed.

F I N I S.

This Day is published, (Price One Shilling)

A PAIR of SPECTACLES for shortighted Politicians; or, A candid Answer to a late extraordinary Pamphlet, entituled, An Honest Man's Reasons for declining to take any Part in the new Administration.

*Dii Patrii, quorum semper sub numine Troja est,
Non tamen omnino Teucros delere paratis,
Cum tales animos JUVENUM, et tam certa tulistis Pectora.*
Virg.

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